

The Presidentialization of Political Parties

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Organizations, Institutions and Leaders

Edited by

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*For Cesira, with love and gratitude
For her/him who will presidentialize my politics, our party,
and my heart – I'll love you*

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Preface

This work is the product of a long and tortuous phase of planning and elaboration, which in part can be traced back, albeit indirectly, to the research I did for my degree thesis in Bologna. *Galeotto* was a volume bought at the stalls of the fascinating book market in Boulevard Saint-Germain in Paris. That book reading experience was followed by a study of the institutions of government, presidents, and parties. The research work then continued, and partly stems from the rewarding years I spent on my doctorate in Comparative and European Politics at the University of Siena.

What actually makes a president of the republic a leader in (semi-) presidential regimes? And when, if ever, is it possible for a party leader, once he or she has become the head of government in a parliamentary regime, to come close to the style of leadership in similar cases in which the separation of powers exists? If institutions influence the behavior of politicians, and thus of the parties, it is necessary to understand and explain if and in what way it is possible to refer to “presidentialized” party organizations outside of the institutional context that defines its characteristics: the presidential regime.

The present state of affairs, in very brief terms, embraces those, on the one side, who maintain that it is almost exclusively the institutions that influence, condition, and make possible (or not) party (and therefore also political) presidentialization. On the other side, we find those who insist that political presidentialization – intended as a centralization of governmental, elective, and party functions – is a verifiable “tendency” in practically all Western democracies. For various reasons, we would argue that, to this dichotomy, can be added – as we shall see in detail in the Introduction – a variable: the component connected to the nature of the parties analyzed, which can contribute to spotlighting a phenomenon that is being widely discussed throughout the (not only academic) world. In light of these different research hypotheses, in this book we seek to approach our analysis by flanking the party variable with the institutional one.

In fact, the aim of the research is to understand the variation in levels of party presidentialization in various institutional contexts.

The basic research question is: To what extent does party presidentialization vary as a function of party features? In the

constitutional/regime-type framework – that is, separation of powers or not – that affects presidentialization, we need to ask whether the (genetic) features of the parties have affected the degree and the kind of party presidentialization in each country. The time span the authors refer to covers the governments and elections that took place from the early 1990s up to 2014. The focus will be on the two or three most relevant political parties: those who won the elections and/or who are the most relevant challengers.

Acknowledgments

Leaving to one side, for once, the usual conventions of formal editorial language, in these few lines I would like to say a big thank-you to each and every person who made the task of editing this work less daunting than it would otherwise have been without their wonderful support. Perhaps my sincere recognition here will partly compensate for all the time that I took up, whether in person, through emails, or on social networks.

This book may never have seen the light of day without the essential intellectual and friendly support of Robert Elgie, to whom I owe my most grateful thanks. His frank and learned comments upon reading an early draft greatly improved the work and smoothed my course to the finish line. The task of systemizing the focus of the research and the structure of the book continued during my time as a visiting scholar at the Political Science Department at the University of California, San Diego. And I thank Daniela Giannetti for her generous support in allowing me to go abroad. I am most grateful to Ellis S. Krauss and Matthew S. Shugart for having welcomed me with such remarkable kindness, and for making my stay in California not just fun but also intellectually rewarding. The discussions at Encinitas and Ladera Frutal were crucial for the development of the work. The atmosphere on the UCSD campus made studying a pleasant and stimulating task, not least due to the enthusiastic, professional, and friendly collaboration offered by Tamara Golden. My heartfelt thanks to Matthew Bergman, who dedicated himself to working on various drafts and patiently made the book flow better. From this point of view, the editorial work by Enda Flannelly was highly professional, and crucial in improving the flow of the final draft and in correcting the English.

Piero Ignazi made straightforward but friendly comments on my ideas, wisely redirecting the focus of the research, bridging the bibliographical gap, and accompanying me with enormous patience through the vast, fascinating, and familiar (to him) world of political parties. Oreste Massari immediately and enthusiastically shared both the research and editorial processes and clarified certain concepts that are crucial to a proper understanding of party government and parliamentary dynamics. I also want to thank him for having welcomed me with friendship and professionalism to the Department of Political

Sciences at the Sapienza University of Rome, an institution characterized by extraordinary professionalism and kindness, not least due to the active and efficient nature of my colleagues and the administrative staff. In particular, I thank our director, Fulco Lanchester, for his full and unwavering cooperation, and for being constantly ready with suggestions and humane and professional support. Stefano Ceccanti's friendship was vital, as he constantly followed my initiatives, was always there to discuss whatever issue arose, and contributed to steering my research and to offering many ideas concerning the literature and comparison. The many Florentine discussions with Jean Blondel, who was often (strangely) enthusiastic over my proposals, and a patient listener generous with his advice, served as a great motivator.

Dario Tuorto, although a sociologist (nobody's perfect), amiably turned a blind eye to my many long "messages" on the status of the various parties, on my editing projects, and on the subsequent delays in handing common working papers.

Manuela Moschella kindly read and commented on a first draft of the project and encouraged me to continue.

The contributors of the individual chapters, each of them an expert in the country he or she analyzed, were extremely patient in the face of my many requests, and participated enthusiastically in the project. Without their contributions I would never have been able to bring to conclusion such an exhausting, challenging, and ambitious project.

A first draft of my research project was presented at the IPSA meeting held in Madrid in 2012. I would like to sincerely thank all the participants on the panel of *Leaders and Leadership*: in particular my thanks go to Robert Elgie, Sergio Fabbrini, Thomas Poguntke, and Paul Webb, for their insightful comments on my presentation.

I sincerely thank the publisher for the decision to publish this work. The text was lovingly nurtured and guided throughout its construction phase with extraordinary professionalism by its editors, Sara Crowley Vigneau *in primis*, who inherited and relaunched the editorial project with enthusiasm and proficiency; Jemima Warren, who followed the entire editing phase with great passion and expertise as well as Benedicta Priya for her professional help in revising the text. I am grateful to the editors for having included my work in the excellent collection that they carefully produce, and I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their shrewd comments on two previous versions of the work, which were certainly useful in improving the final version.

I would also like to thank Cesira, for so many valid reasons. She was a witness to every step, physical or intellectual, of the writing of this

work, not to mention a provider of artistic guidance in the choice of its cover. Forgive me for the time taken from our coalition of parties, a coalition that isn't presidential but made up of "lively" factions, and yet capable of sustaining our government for a long and passionate "full term," even during times of division or cohabitation. Our new impending coalition partner will most likely be very active and is bound to make our coalition even livelier, as well as frequently relegating us to a minority over divisive policies and, as an indisputable, uncontested, and unaccountable leader, will surely render effectively possible a unique form of party presidentialization.

Ça va sans dire – the responsibility for all that is written is mine alone.

Gianluca Passarelli

July 2014, (somewhere between) Rome and Bologna

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Glossary (parties included in the research)

Abbreviation	Name	Country	Ideological stance
AD	Australian Democrats	Australia	Social liberal
ALP	Australian Labor Party	Australia	Social Democrat
AN	Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance)	Italy	Right
AWS	Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność (Solidarity Election Action)	Poland	Conservative
BO	Batkivshchyna (All Ukrainian Union-Fatherland)	Ukraine	Conservative
BYuT	Bloc Yulia Tymoshenko (Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc)	Ukraine	Social Democrat
C	Conservative	United Kingdom	Conservative
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)	Germany	Conservative
CNI	Centre National des Indépendants (National Centre of Independents)	France	Right
CPU	Komunistychna Partiya Ukrayiny (The Communist Party of Ukraine)	Ukraine	Communist
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union of Bavaria)	Germany	Conservative

D	Democratic Party	United States of America	Social liberal
DEM	Democratas (Democrats)	Brazil	Center-Right
DL	Démocratie Libérale (Liberal Democracy)	France	Center-Right
DPJ	Minshu-tō (Democratic Party of Japan)	Japan	Social liberal
FN	Front National (National Front)	France	Far-Right
GOP	Republican Party	United States of America	Conservative
LDP	Jiyū Minshutō (Liberal Democratic Party)	Japan	Conservative
LiD	Lewica i Demokraci (Left and Democrats)	Poland	Center-Left
LP	Labour Party	United Kingdom	Center-Left
LPA	Liberal Party of Australia	Australia	Conservative
MAPU	Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria	Chile	Center-Left
MDC	Mouvement des Citoyens (Citizens' Movement)	France	Center-Left
MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Movement of the Left)	Chile	Marxist-Leninist
NDP	Narodno-Demokratychna Partiya (People's Democratic Party)	Ukraine	Conservative
NSZZRI	Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Rolników Indywidualnych "Solidarność" (Solidarity Farmers' Union)	Poland	Conservative

OU	Nasha Ukrayina (Our Ukraine)	Ukraine	Center Right
PAIS	Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista (Wide Party of Socialist Left)	Chile	Social Democrat
PCdoB	Partido Comunista do Brasil (Communist Party of Brazil)	Brazil	Marxist- Leninist
PCF	Parti Communiste Français (Communist Party of France)	France	Marxist- Leninist
PD	Partito Democratico (Democratic Party)	Italy	Social liberal
PDC	Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party)	Chile	Christian Democrat
PDL	Il Popolo della Libertà (The People of Freedom)	Italy	Conservative
PDS	Partido Democrático Social (Democratic Social Party)	Chile	Social Democrat
PDT	Partido Democrático Trabalhista (Democratic Labour Party)	Brazil	Social Democrat
PFL	Partido da Frente Liberal (Liberal Front Party)	Brazil	Conservative
PMDB	Partido da Mobilização Democrática Brasileira (Brazilian Party of the Democratic Mobilization)	Brazil	Center
PMDB	Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party)	Brazil	Center
PO	Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform)	Poland	Christian Democrat
POR	Partiya Rehioniv (Party of Regions)	Ukraine	Center/ Regionalism
PPD	Partido por la Democracia (Party for Democracy)	Chile	Center-Left

PR	Partido Radical (Radical Party)	Chile	Radicalist
PR	Parti Radical (Radical Party)	France	Radicalist
PRG	Parti Radical de Gauche (The Radical Party of the Left)	France	Social Democrat
PRSD	Partido Radical Social Demócrata (Radical Social Democratic Party)	Chile	Social Democrat
PSB	Partido Socialista Brasileiro (Brazilian Socialist Party)	Brazil	Social Democrat
PSD	Partido Social Demócrata (Social Democratic Party)	Brazil	Social Democrat
PS	Parti Socialiste (Socialist Party)	France	Social Democrat
PSC	Partido Socialista de Chile (Socialist Party of Chile)	Chile	Center-Left
PSDB	Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (Brazilian Social Democracy Party)	Brazil	Center
PSI	Partito Socialista Italiano (Italian Socialist Party)	Italy	Social Democrat
PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish Peasant Party)	Poland	Conservative
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Party)	Spain	Social Democrat
PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party)	Brazil	Social Democrat
PV	Partido Verde (Green Party)	Brazil	Green
PZPR	Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (Polish United Workers Party)	Poland	Communist
RN	Renovación Nacional (National Renewal)	Chile	Center-Right

RPR	Rassemblement pour la République (Rally for the Republic)	France	Conservative
Rukh	Narodnyi Rukh Ukrainy (Peoples' Movement of Ukraine)	Ukraine	Center-Right
SFIO	Section française de l'internationale ouvrière (French Section of the Workers' International)	France	Social Democrat
SDP	Socjaldemokracja Polska (Social Democratic Party)	United Kingdom	Social Democrat
SdPR	Socjaldemokracja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Social Democracy of the Polish Republic)	Poland	Social Democrat
SDPU	Sotsial-Demokratychna Partiya Ukrainy (Social Democratic Party of Ukraine)	Ukraine	Social Democrat
SLD	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (Democratic Left Union)	Poland	Social Democrat
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)	Germany	Social Democrat
SPU	Sotsialistychna Partiya Ukrainy (Socialist Party of Ukraine)	Ukraine	Social Democrat
	Svoboda (All-Ukrainian Union)	Ukraine	Far-Right
TR	Twój Ruch, previously Ruch Palikota (Your Movement)	Poland	Liberal
UCC	Unión de Centro Centro (Centre Centre Union)	Chile	Liberal
UDAR	Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform	Ukraine	Liberal
UDF	Union pour la Démocratie Française (Union for French Democracy)	France	Center-Right

UDI	Unión Demócrata Independiente (Independent Democratic Union)	Chile	Right
UP	Unia Pracy (Labor Union)	Poland	Social Democrat
UMP	Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (Union for a Popular Movement)	France	Center-Right
UW	Unia Wolności (Freedom Union)	Poland	Liberal Democrat
ZSL	Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish Peasant Union)	Poland	Center-Right
	Ukrajina – Vpered! (Ukraine Ahead!)	Ukraine	Agrarian
ZYU	Za Yedynu Ukrayinu (For United Ukraine)	Ukraine	Center